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ORDNANCE MATERIAL RECOVERED FROM AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY WRECK SITE

by Mendel Peterson

In recent years, a new field of study has made its appearance—underwater exploration of historic sites. While classical archeology has a history of over a century, only since World War II has the exploration of classical and modern historic sites under water been possible. The development of new light diving gear during the period of the war has given to the diver the freedom of a fish. This has permitted him to explore areas in and near coral reefs which could not be safely penetrated by divers in the heavy suit. This new field of exploration cannot yet be called underwater archeology, since the precise techniques of archeology have not been perfected in the sometimes very difficult task of analyzing an underwater site. As more and more professional people enter the field, however, these techniques are expected to be improved if not perfected, and the full possibilities of the new field realized.

The potentialities of this work to historians and antiquarians are unlimited. While many land sites contain materials which were deposited over a long period of time, the underwater shipwreck site contains objects in use or in channels of commerce at the instant it sank. It is, in effect, an accidental time capsule, a package containing objects of a particular country and time which may be precisely dated. Once a wreck is definitely identified, all the materials from it take on added significance since they all relate to a single date and to each other. The contributions of this new art will no doubt be felt in the field of military antiquities as well as in cultural history and archeology.

THE SPANISH TREASURE ROUTE

Underwater sites, while widely distributed about

the surface of the earth, are more prevalent along those major shipping routes which at one time or another have been followed in the pursuit of commerce. One of these routes, of the greatest importance in the history of the New World, was the great treasure route from Spain to the Caribbean and back. Soon after the first voyage of Columbus, it was apparent to the Spanish mariners that the sea and air currents of the North Atlantic basin rotated in a clockwise direction. It was also obvious that these currents could be followed to and from America. This fact determined largely the location of the Spanish shipping lanes to and from the New World. These lanes were the aorta of the Spanish nation bringing to it the wealth of America which was the most important factor in maintaining Spanish strength in the cockpit of European power politics. No sooner had Spain discovered the wealth of the islands, Mexico and Peru, than her enemies, principally French and English. began to attack her treasure ships even when the nations were formally at peace. To protect her wealth, Spain set up regular fleet systems which were designed to protect her convoys to and from the Indies. In this they were quite successful. While in a few instances the treasure fleets were captured, this was a rare exception and the gold and silver which successfully flowed to Spain during the three hundred and forty years of her rule in America was immense; sufficient to alter the economy of Europe and bring on a price revolution.

Fleets leaving Spain for the Americas would drop down the coast of Africa to the Canary Islands. Here they would top off their supplies and say farewell to the extra escort which often accompanied them on the first leg of the journey to guard them from attack by French or North African corsairs. Catching the trade winds (which got their very name from this fact), they would ride them to a landfall near Trinidad or the Windward Islands. They would then proceed into the Caribbean where the Flota of New Spain would leave the Galleons of Terra Firma and sail on to La Vera Cruz. The Galleons would proceed to Cartagena to load the South American treasure. Word of their impending arrival was sent ahead, so the Governor of Panama could arrange for the transport of the Peruvian treasure across the Isthmus from Panama City to Porto Bello. This was sent in two ways-along the Las Cruces trail or partly by trail and partly by the Chagre River. Meanwhile, the Captain General of the fleet would have sent vessels from Cartagena to transport the treasure to the Galleons. At the same time a small vessel would have been sent to the Island of Margarita to pick up the year's production from the pearl beds there. Having loaded the treasure and supplies, the Galleons would sail for Havana following a course around Cape San Antonio on the western end of Cuba.

As they sailed up the coast of Central America ships bearing the fruits of the mines and plantations of Guatemala would join them. The Flota of New Spain which left the Galleons just after the entrance into the Caribbean, would proceed to La Vera Cruz where they would load the treasure of New Spain which came down from Mexico City by muleback. At the same time the China trade goods from the Philippines would be loaded having come by way of the Manila Galleon to Acapulco and thence to La Vera Cruz by muleback. The treasure loaded, and supplies aboard, the Flota would leave La Vera Cruz and proceed on a northeasterly course to avoid the treacherous reefs of Yucatan and to escape the head winds which blow westward over the southern Gulf of Mexico. The Flota's course would carry it upward into the northern part of the Gulf and down the west coast of Florida, past the Dry Tortugas and into Havana.

At Havana the Flota of New Spain would join the Galleons of Terra Firma. When preparations were ready for the voyage to Spain and the Captain General in consultation with his Admiral and captains judged the weather to be right, the combined fleet set sail up the Straits of Florida where the Gulf Stream helped them along. Clearing the northern Bahamas, they altered course to the northeast and at Bermuda altered to a more easterly direction catching the westerlies which they

rode back to Spain. It was customary to sail south of Bermuda if the season were late and there was danger from northers. In the summer the fleet sailed north of the island.

While the Spanish could do much to protect their shipping from other nations, they could do little to save themselves from the severe tropical storms which sometimes lash the western areas of the treasure route from the Caribbean to Bermuda. As a result, hundreds of shipwrecks dot the length of this route from Columbia to Bermuda. Frequently, enemy ships sailing this same route met the fate of their intended victims and their bones joined those of the Spanish vessels. This deposit of sixteenth to nineteenth century material represents historic wealth of great value awaiting discovery and study by underwater explorers.

THE WRECK OF A TREASURE SHIP

Late in the summer of 1621 the Flota of New Spain and the Galleons sailed from Havana for Spain. The fleet proceeded up the Straits of Florida being sped along with the help of the Gulf Stream and favorable winds. Clearing the northern end of the straits, the ships altered their course slightly to the eastward and stood for the Bermudas. September 12 found them buffeted by contrary winds off the southwestern reefs. A 300-ton ship, the San Antonio, became separated from the fleet and about sunset the ship's company found themselves among the coral heads and soon after stuck fast. Upon striking, about twenty sailors abandoned the ship in the boat leaving the passengers, captain and officers, without means of helping themselves.

After a night of terror the light of the morning revealed land within three or four miles of the ship. The remaining company stripped timbers from the wreck, built a raft, and with this were able to save themselves, landing in the western end of the island. The Bermudians, having spied the wreck, then began going to it in boats removing the guns, cargo, and other valuables. By the morning after the wreck the bow of the ship was under water and all the valuables there which could not be fished up were lost. The Spanish ashore were given such aid as could be afforded by the Bermudians but had to pay for it with any gold, silver or gems they might have managed to save. The Governor of Bermuda took steps to help the Spaniards, arranging for their housing and later for transportation to Europe. During the weeks following the wreck

of the ship, the portion of the ship below water, as well as above, was stripped of many things of value. Among the equipment and cargo recovered were anchors, swivel guns, carriage guns from the ship's main battery, silver pieces of eight, leather, tobacco and cordage.

The State Papers contain a record of several voyages to the wreck by William Seymour on orders of the Governor Captain Nathaniel Butler. Seymor, with the help of sixteen men of Somerset Parish recovered much of the ship's equipment. Seymor's account lists the ordnance recovered at the same time:

Item upon comaud sometimes for the waying of the Ordinance Anchors and Murderers, the chiefe in wch. business was Capt Felgate, myselfe, & Jacob Jacobson, Livetennt Buckley and my sonne: In Wch voyages wee did recover these things hereunder written.

Inprimis 10 cast peeces of Iron ordinance

Item 6 Murderrers wthout Chambers.

In a statement of charges for services are found details of the salvage.

The Enginier Jacob Jacobson requires for his Engine and labour in slinging the Ordinance, wch were 10 peeces at 10s the peece is

William Coxson who was the principal Diver as well in the wrack as in ye sea, slung 10 peeces of Ordinance under water from the said wrack, for which he demaunds 20s sterling a peece is

Moreover he slung 4 peeces of Iron Murtherers from ye said wrack for wch he demaunds 13 sh 8 d z

Eventually the Spanish returned to Spain by way of London where they lodged strong protests through their ambassador. The Bermuda Company answered the complaints with countercharges and nothing ever came of them. The guns of the ship found their way to the island's forts and the treasure to the pockets of the Bermudians. This was the normal outcome of shipwreck in that age; those who were lucky enough to escape with their lives found themselves stripped by their rescuers.

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF THE WRECK

In the fall of 1958 Mr. E. B. Tucker, a master diver and explorer around the reefs of Bermuda, discovered a wreck site on the southwestern reefs. As he cleared the sand from the remains, some ninety feet of ship's timber were revealed. The timber had been protected through the centuries by sand which prevented its destruction by the worm. The massive size of the timbers and keel told Tucker that the remains were those of a large ship. The structure, the absence of a keelson, and

a water groove down the top of the keel, told Tucker that the ship was probably Spanish. As the search continued, fragments of pottery definitely Spanish-American were revealed. The next year Tucker returned to the site accompanied by Peter Stackpole of Life magazine. Within a few days they had discovered a rich collection of artifacts and treasure. Included in the collection were tools and implements, beads, combs, crucifixes, pearl baptismal shells, stone and iron shot for the guns, musket and arquebus balls, bones of pickled meat stores, two intact pottery wine jars, fragments of glass and pottery of numerous forms. More exciting was the treasure of gold chain, gold jewelry. and pieces of eight recovered. At the end of the work Tucker had again formed a significant collection which was added to his unique display of materials from a late sixteenth century ship explored four years earlier.4

In August and September of this year I was invited to explore the site with Tucker. For twelve days we spent four to five hours a day on the site exploring the sand around the timber remains and bringing up hundreds of objects. We were pleased to find many specimens which duplicated those Tucker had recovered the year before. The objects will be added to the collections of the Smithsonian Institution.

Examples of all of the materials mentioned in the documents concerning the wreck of the San Antonio were found on the site with the exception of the gold wedges. All of the coins from the wreck which can be identified date from the rein of Philip III, or before. Philip III died in 1621. This evidence was important in suggesting the identification of the site. Philip III died the year the San Antonio was lost. The only other major Spanish vessel known to have wrecked on the southwest reefs in the first half of the seventeenth century is the Viga which went down in 1639. It is inconceivable that coins of the reign of Philip IV which were being issued in great quantities in the American mints every year would have not found their way into the cargo of the Viga. The ship lies in a position which corresponds with that given in the accounts. The richest area around the wreck is off the bow of the ship which bears out the account of the wreck which states that the bow was flooded early and the goods were lost. The timbers found are those of a ship of about three hundred tons. This chain of evidence indicates that the site is probably that of the San Antonio. A search of pertinent documents in the Casa Lonja, Seville, is expected to confirm it.

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE OBJECTS RECOVERED

SHOT FOR SMALL ARMS

Ball—Three sizes of lead ball were recovered. The largest, of 13/16" diameter or .81 caliber, weight 52.5 grams, is probably a musket ball. (Plate I, No. 2) One of these bore teeth marks and might have been bitten by a sailor being punished or a person undergoing surgery.

Ball of %" diameter or .63 caliber (Plate I, No. 6, left) probably an arquebus ball, weight 26.2 grams.

Ball of ½" diameter or .50 caliber which may have been a pistol ball or a buckshot for a buck and ball load for musket, weight 13.1 grams. (Plate I, No. 6, right).

Wired Ball—Of the highest interest and perhaps previously unknown. The three forms of wired ball duplicate in principle three types of shot for use in the heavy guns. I have never seen such shot illustrated or described in the literature. Harold Peterson examined these and stated that they were unknown to him.

Wired ball, two balls of .63 caliber connected with brass wire cast into the ball coiled as in a spring. In principle this shot corresponds to the chain shot for heavy guns. On leaving the muzzle of the piece the whirling of the ball would cause the wire to be straightened out and the shot would be, in effect, a small chain shot. Total weight 42.3 grams, length contracted 2½", approximate length expanded, 13". A similar wired ball was found in a Bermuda site of circa 1595. (Plate I, No. 4); (See also Plate IV, No. 1).

Wired ball as above but one ball .50 caliber. This pattern would certainly give an erratic flight to the projectile. Total weight 36.2 grams, length contracted 2 3/16", length expanded approximately 12". (Plate No. I, No. 5).

Wired ball, single split ball on twisted brass wire hinged together, the wire cast into the ball. Total weight 23.8 grams, length contracted 33/16", length expanded 5\%". This type corresponds to the split chain shot and split hinged shot for heavy guns. (Plate I, Nos. 7 and 9) See also Plate IV, Nos. 1 and 2.

Other wired split shot with slightly greater length are illustrated in Plate I (Nos. 8, 10, and 11). No. 10 had a total weight of 24.5 grams. Length contracted, 41/4", length expanded 81/4".

The third type of wired shot consisted of two balls joined with twisted brass wire in such manner as to form a sliding bar corresponding exactly in principle to the sliding bar shot for the heavy guns. No illustration of this variety was available but the principle of the sliding bar is illustrated in Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6, and Plate IV, No. 1.

Evidence that the heavy musket ball of .81 caliber was also wired is furnished by a ball of that size having a neat hole in which a wire evidently had been cast. (Plate I, No. 1). If this ball did at one time contain a wire it has since been destroyed by electrolysis.

EDGE WEAPONS

Edge weapons being of a more fragile construction than heavy ordnance seldom survive the deleterious effects of sea water. When such objects do survive, they are incrusted in a jacket of coral sand but are frequently almost completely converted to iron oxide within their sand sheath.

Dagger with drooping quillons—probably still in the scabbard, the whole encased in the sand crust, characteristic of metal objects recovered from sand bottoms. Length approximately 16 inches. (Plate II, No. 2, left and bottom).

Dagger fragment removed from sand crust. The tang badly corroded, the ovoid pommel comparatively undamaged but the blade, guard and scabbard entirely gone. The wooden liners of the scabbard survive having been saturated with iron oxide from the disintegrating blade preserving them from destruction by worms or fungi. (Plate II, No. 1).

The sand area surrounding the remains of the ship was littered with small objects and fragments. Among the tiniest objects recovered were fragments of twisted silver wire from the grip of a dagger or sword. (Plate II, No. 3).

PROJECTILES FOR HEAVY ORDNANCE

The variety of heavy ordnance projectiles recovered was greater than on any other shipwreck site of which I have knowledge. The early seventeenth century was a pivotal period. At this time the cast iron gun was rapidly replacing those wrought iron built-up tubes still in use with the exception, of course, of wrought iron swivels which continued in service. It marked the end of the use of large single stone shot in ships' guns and a period of experimentation in development of specialized types of projectiles such as expanding bar and incendiary spike shot. All of the heavy projectiles found

are of known types with one possible exception a wooden case containing langrel and lead ball.

Stone shot—Of sandstone; for a canon de pedrero. Diameter 45/16" to 46/16", weight 3 pounds 3 ounces. (Plate III, No. 1).

Iron shot—For a falcon or minion. 3 7/16" diameter. Five examples weighed from 4 pounds 2 ounces to 4 pounds 7 ounces each. The sprue of the example shown was evidently not filled resulting in a flat area. (Plate VII, No. 2).

Iron shot—For a falcon. 2%" diameter, weight 2 pounds 15 ounces. (Plate VII, No. 5). The mold line is clearly visible. The founder in pouring this ball hesitated and the line where the metal cooled slightly is visible where it crosses the mold line.

Iron shot—For a falcon. 2%" diameter, weight 2 pounds 8 ounces. (Plate VII, No. 4).

Iron grapeshot—Flattened sphere 5/16" to 1\%" diameter, weight 66.8 grams. (Plate VII, No. 1).

Two iron grapeshot joined—2½" in length, weight 114.2 grams. The form of this example indicates, of course, that these small shot were cast in a series like a beaded molding and then broken apart. (Plate VII, No. 1).

Incendiary spikeshot—For a falcon or minion. Cast ball on a wrought spike. 3%" diameter, 144" in length, spike %" square at the ball. Weight 6 pounds 10 ounces. Spike shot were wrapped with tar-soaked line or tow. The discharge of the piece ignited the tow or line and if the shot struck the target in the correct direction, it stuck and could ignite hull or rigging. (Plate III, Nos. 2 and 3, top). (See also Plate IV, Nos. 1 and 2, center).

Incendiary spikeshot—For falcon or minion. Wrought ball on a wrought spike, largest diameter 3 1/16", 11¾" in length, spike 1 1/16" square at ball, weight 5 pounds 3 ounces. (Plate III, No. 3, bottom).

Marline wrapping from spike shot, tar or pitch soaked which acted to preserve it. (Plate III, Nos. 5 and 7). The line was first run along the spike to build up the diameter, then wrapped by winding.

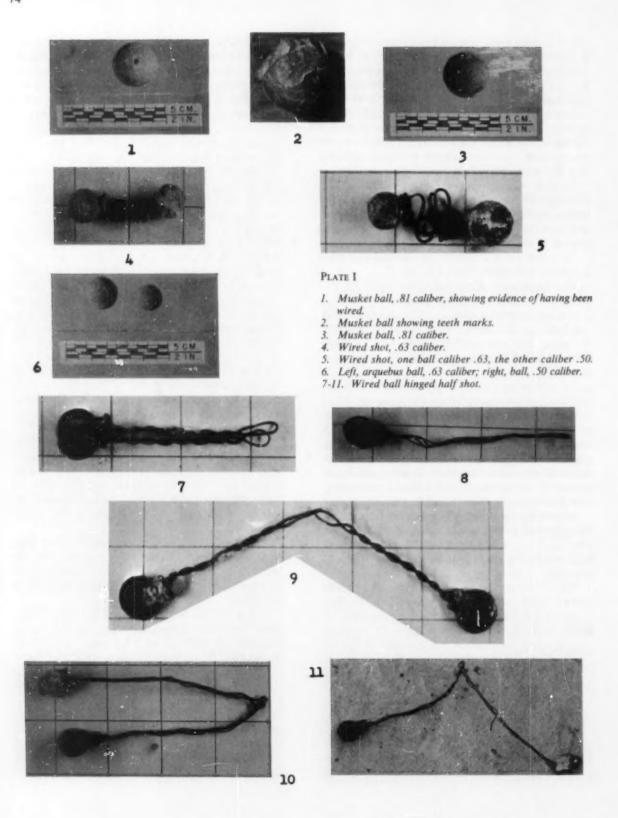
Expanding bar shot for a 3-pounder or falcon. 2%" in diameter, 16" in length contracted, 29" in length expanded, weight 2 pounds 9 ounces. The original weight of this shot was perhaps a pound greater having lost much through corrosion. The shot is formed entirely of wrought iron. (Plate III, Nos. 4 and 6).

Wooden case shot with langrel and lead ball— The wooden case shot found on this site may be of a type previously unknown to collections in Europe and the United States. I have not seen any examples in the museums of Madrid, Paris, Copenhagen and Great Britain. Neither can I find any reference to such case in early works on artillery. The shot is formed of a cylinder of wood which has been turned on a lathe. The cylinder was cut lengthwise, hollowed out and filled with a charge of cast scrap and lead ball. The shot was closed and held together by brass wire wound in a groove at each end which were cut into the cylinder when it was being turned. One shot which had disintegrated yielded a charge of nine pieces of scrap and two lead balls of 81 caliber. The individual pieces of scrap weighed from 40.1 grams to 178.5 grams with a total weight of 914.4 grams. The lead balls weighed 52.8 grams and 52.3 grams giving the total weight of the charge, exclusive of the wooden case, of 1029.5 grams. (Plate V, No. 5). The weight of one complete specimen wet was 5.0 pounds but this figure must be reduced by eight ounces or so to compensate for the liquid with which it was saturated. This example was 10 inches in length and 2% inches in diameter and intended for use in a three-pounder or falcon. It was cut into quarters longitudinally. (Plate V, No. 2). Another example was cut longitudinally into three pieces. This specimen clearly shows the hole left by the dead center when the case was turned in the lathe.

The area around the timber remains of the ship was littered with individual pieces of langrel scattered through the sand. The pieces of iron had attracted sand particles to them and were covered with the crust which is typical of iron objects immersed in sea water for any length of time. (Plate V, No. 4).

An X-ray photograph of example No. 2 in Plate V shows a charge different from that illustrated as No. 5. This photograph revealed an undetermined number of iron fragments and a single lead ball of 63 caliber.

The cast-iron fragments used in the case shot were from old or defective castings made for other purposes. A study of the fragments in the charge numbered "5" on Plate V show traces of ornament including scrolls, floral motifs and geometrical moldings. These fragments probably are from a fireplace backplate but some may be from pilasters or railings. (Plate VII, No. 3). In procuring material for manufacture of langrel, the Spanish Government probably bought commercial scrap. Two centuries later the British Navy bought such scrap for use as ballast, defective cast-iron pilasters







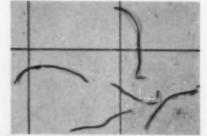


PLATE II

- Dagger fragments removed from coral sand crust.
 Left and bottom, daggers with drooping quillons in coral sand crust.

- Top center, sword hilt in coral sand crust.
 Top right, pistol with miquelet lock.
 Twisted silver wire from dagger or sword grip.
 Corroded iron shot cemented to stoneshot.

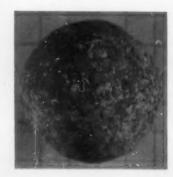


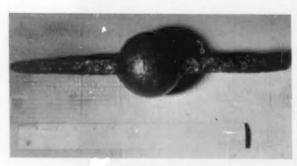
PLATE III

- 1. Stone shot, diameter 4 5/16" to 4 3/8", weight 3 lbs. 3 oz. for a canon de pedrero.
- and 3. top. Incendiary spike shot, ball cast on wrought iron bar, 3%" diameter, 14%" length, weight 6 pounds,
- 10 ounces for a falcon or minion.

 3. bottom. Incendiary spike shot ball wrought on wrought iron bar, largest diameter 3 1/16" length 11 3/4" weight 5 pounds, 3 ounces, for a falcon or minion.

 4. and 6. Expanding bar shot, 2%" diameter, length contracted 16 inches, expanded 29 inches, weight (corroded)
- 2 pounds, 9 ounces, for a falcon. 5. and 7. Tarred marline wrapping from an incendiary spike





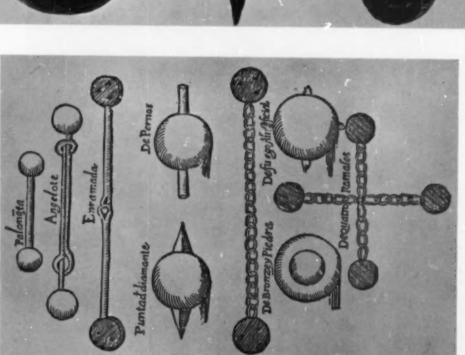












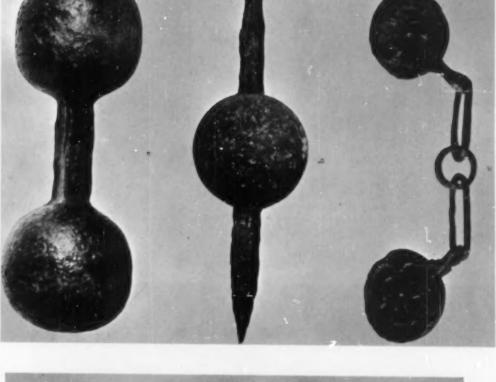
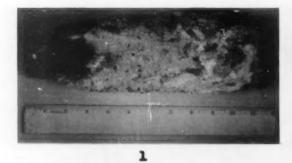


PLATE IV

- Heavy ordnance projectiles illustrated in Firrufino's
 EL Perfetto Artillero, 1640.
 Heavy ordnance projectiles illustrated in Jakobsson, Th.
 Lantmilltar Bevapning och Bekladnad, 1938.



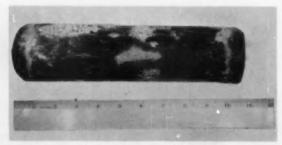
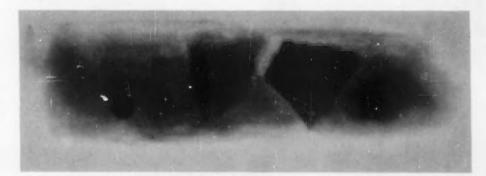


PLATE V

1. and 2. Wooden case containing langrel and ball; side and end views.

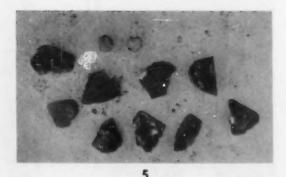
ena views.
3. X-ray photograph of 2.
4. Langrel showing coral sand crust, found about the sand surrounding the wreck site.
5. Charge of langrel from a shot which disintegrated, two lead ball, .81 caliber and nine pieces of cast scrap, total weight of the charge 1029.5 grams.





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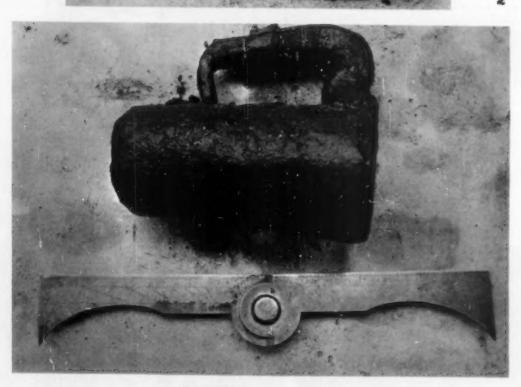
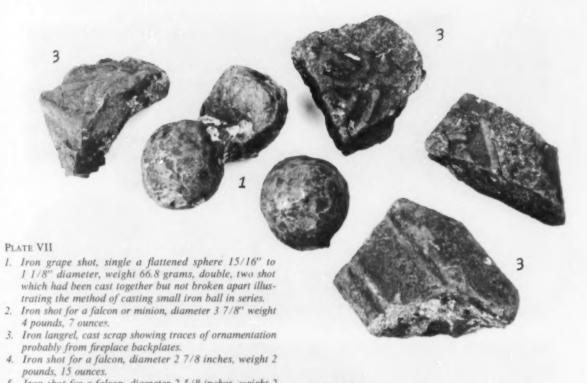


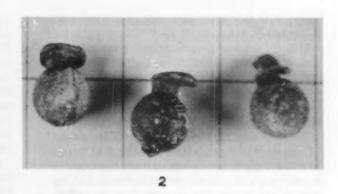
PLATE VI

- Chamber wedges for iron swivels.
 Chamber for an iron swivel.





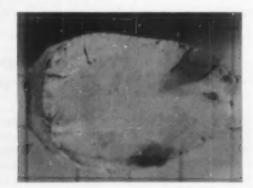






- Portion of lead pig found among the ordnance stores.
 Lead ball of .63 caliber with sprues attached.
 Brass wire of type found in wired shot and cased langrel.
 and 5. Portions of flint nodules showing evidence of napping.





having been found in a wreck site of a British man o' war in the Bahamas.

Many of the iron objects suffered severe damage or complete destruction through electrolysis. One iron shot found attached to a stone ball had been almost completely converted to iron exide. (Plate II, No. 4).

BREECHBLOCK FOR A SWIVEL

The State Paper referred to previously mentioned the recovery of "murderrers without chambers." This fact is confirmed by the recovery of chambers and wedges and a total absence on the site of the tubes of the swivels. The example illustrated (Plate VI, No. 2) measured seven inches in length and three inches in diameter at the forward end. The powder chamber was one and a quarter inches in diameter.

Several examples of the chamber wedges were found three of which are illustrated. (Plate VI, No. 1).

THE WORK OF THE ARMORER ABOARD

It is well illustrated by several objects found on the site. This evidence shows that the armorer cast lead shot, assembled the wooden case shot and probably napped flint as well. Sections of lead bar used in producing shot and shot with the sprues attached are illustrated. (Plate VIII, Nos. 1 and 2).

Hanks of brass wire identical to that used in producing the wired shot and in assembling the wooden case were found. (Plate VIII, No. 3). Several examples of flint nodules showing signs of napping were recovered. (Plate VIII, Nos. 4 and 5).

This evidence would appear to indicate a busy routine for the armorer aboard the ship. During those periods of the voyage in mid-ocean when attack from enemies was only a remote possibility, the armorer apparently busied himself with mak-

ing and assembling the various projectiles required for the small arms and heavy ordnance of the ship. The assembly of the case shot is especially interesting. The wooden cylinders must have been produced ashore. The armorer would then cut them, hollow them out sufficiently to receive the charge which was probably roughly weighed, and wired the whole together. There is some evidence that a filler of fibers was placed in the case to prevent the charges from moving about.

It is expected that further exploration will be made of the site during the summer of 1961. It is hoped that such investigation may reveal further details of the armament and life aboard the ship, one of the richest yet found in the Western Hemisphere.

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2 Ibid., p. 255.

See Life, 14 September 1959.

*See Life, 9 January 1956.

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THE THIRD REGIMENT OF WALDECK, 1776-17831

by Albert W. Haarmann

Once the news of the battle of Bunker Hill reached Europe and it became apparent the British had a large-scale rebellion in their North American colonies, several of the petty German princes made offers of their troops to Great Britain. Prince Frederick of Waldeck was one of the first to make such a gesture. He had written to Lord Suffolk, the

British Minister of State, on 3 November 1775 to offer the services of a regiment.²

Waldeck had long been a source of mercenary troops. Earlier Waldeckers had been in the pay of the Venetians in their wars against the Turks; others, in the pay of the Dutch, fought against the French. In 1775 there were two infantry regiments,



organized into four battalions of seven companies each, in Dutch service.3 A treaty was concluded at Arolsen, in Waldeck on 20 April 1776 by the representatives of His Britannic Majesty and His Most Serene Highness, the reigning Prince of Waldeck. By this treaty Britain obtained the services of a regiment of infantry and a small train of artillery. The prince contracted to furnish a fully equipped corps in readiness to march by not later than 6 May 1776. He also promised to furnish the recruits each year that were necessary to keep the contingent up to strength. For this the king agreed to pay levy money of 30 crowns for each soldier and an annual subsidy of 20,050 crowns. One article of the treaty provided for the payment of blood money whereby three men wounded were reckoned as one killed and a man killed was to be paid for at the same rate as the levy money.4

The Waldeck Regiment, as it was commonly called, was officially known as the 3rd Regiment of Waldeck. It was organized as follows:

A staff consisting of a lie mant-colonel and a major, both of whom commanded companies in the regiment, two captain-lieutenants, an adjutant, quartermaster, judge advocate, chaplain, and surgeon, plus musicians and servants, for a total of sixteen persons.

The grenadier company was authorized a captain, first lieutenant, second lieutenant, their servants, eleven non-commissioned officers, a surgeon's mate, a solicitor, three drummers and two fifers, and 110 grenadiers for a total strength of 134 officers and men.

Each of the four musketeer companies was authorized a captain, first lieutenant, ensign, their servants, a standard bearer, eleven non-commissioned officers, a surgeon's mate, a solicitor, three drummers, and 107 musketeers, for a strength of 130 officers and men per company.

The regiment was thus authorized a total of 22 officers and 648 other ranks, plus two bombardiers and twelve cannoneers to man the two three-pounders attached to the corps.⁵

The uniform of the Waldeck Regiment was a blue coat with yellow collar, cuffs, lapels, and lining, and white vest and breeches. In the accompanying reproduction of a painting by Herbert Knötel, all uniform buttons are white; Lefferts claims they were gilt. The musketeers wore a black hat with yellow trim and a black cockade held with a yellow loop and a silver button. The bearskin grenadier cap has a yellow cloth bag trimmed with white tape and tassel.

While it would seem likely that this uniform was modified for service in America, especially in British West Florida, nothing can be found to support this supposition. The uniform depicted in Knötel's painting may be considered regulation; any changes authorized or otherwise tolerated for American service have not come to light to date.

The single battalion 3rd Regiment was raised in 1776 specifically for British service. Troops for this corps were gathered by the recall of mercenaries from Holland and through the ruthless conscription of the men of this small principality, all of whom, with the exception of university students, were subject to compulsory military service.

When the regiment first came to America it was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel von Hanxleden (first name unknown). He was promoted to Colonel on 5 March 1777 and remained at the head of the regiment until his death in the abortive attack upon the Spanish post at Frenchtown on 7 January 1781. The command of the regiment then passed to Lieutenant Colonel Albrecht von Horn, who remained its commander until their return to Germany in 1783.

The Waldeck Regiment landed at New Rochelle, New York, on 23 October 1776, where it joined the main British Army. During most of the next two years the regiment was in garrison in the New York area. Its principal engagements during this period were the storming of Fort Washington on 16 November 1776 and the repulse of an attack upon Staten Island on 22 August 1777. In October 1778 the regiment was ordered to Florida. After briefly touching at Jamaica, the Germans arrived at Pensacola, British West Florida, at the end of January 1779. It was in the defense of this province that the Waldeckers saw their hardest service. Part of the regiment became prisoners when the British posts at Baton Rouge and elsewhere on the Mississippi fell to the Spanish in September 1779. The Waldeckers lost their colonel in an unsuccessful attempt to seize a Spanish outpost near Mobile on 7 January 1781. The remainder of the regiment was besieged at Pensacola during the spring of 1781 and was part of the garrison that surrendered that place to the Spanish on 9 May 1781.8

Although the Waldeckers came to America with the second division of Hessian troops and frequently served with them during their first two years in America, they were separate in every respect from the Hessian establishment and were independent of Hessian command. It is possible that because of this relationship and the treaty provision which barred the separation of the Hessian contingent, that it was decided to send this regiment to Florida in 1778. Their service in this distant province, at the end of a very long supply line, was very disagreeable and many men died because of the unhealthful climate.

In 1776 the regiment numbered 670 men. Each year the necessary recruits were sent to America and during the course of the rebellion a total of 555 men joined the regiment. Raising these recruits must have been very difficult; on 23 June 1777, a British officer reported, "I inspected the Waldeck recruits, whom I found to be 88 in number of a very low size, very young and very bad recruits." A total of 1,225 Waldeckers saw service in America; less than half of these, 505 men, returned to Germany in 1783.

The surrender of Pensacola brought to an end the active service of the Waldeck Regiment in America; however, this unit, along with the other elements of the Pensacola garrison, was the subject of a controversy between the Americans and their Allies and within the British command itself. At the time of the surrender, the British agreed not to use these troops against Spain or her Allies,

which, according to the terms of the secret Treaty of Aranjuez (12 April 1779), did not include the Americans. The relationship between the Spanish and the Americans could more properly be termed that of co-belligerents rather than that of allies. The Americans were displeased when they learned of this as they fully expected the British to use these troops against them. Many of the British officers were in favor of this but Sir Henry Clinton decided against their further employment until exchanged.¹²

The Waldeck Regiment was exchanged in July 1781 and served in the vicinity of New York until mid-1783. After almost seven years' service, in which they went farther afield than any other German corps serving in North America, the Waldeck Regiment embarked at New York on 15 July 1783 and sailed for Germany.

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- ¹The principal source for this article was the Marion D. Learned edition of *Philip Waldeck's Diary of the American Revolution*, Philadelphia, 1907. Another useful source was the *Waldeckisches Intelligenz-Blatt*, a weekly newspaper published in Arolsen. Bound copies of this paper for the years 1776-77 and 1782 will be found in the New York Public Library. In addition to excerpts from Waldeck's diary, this paper gives notice of promotions, casualties, and general news from America.
- ² Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776-1784, of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces, translated from the German and annotated by Bernhard A. Uhlendorf, New Brunswick, 1957, p. 9, Hereinafter Baurmeister.
- ³ Bredow, Claus von, and others, Historisches Rang-und Stammliste des Deutsches Heeres, Berlin, 1905, pp. 597-601.
- ⁴ Almon, John, editor, *The Parliamentary Register*, III, pp. 504-507.
 - ⁵ Ibid., pp. 507-508.
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 - ¹ Baurmeister, p. 8.
- 8 Only a brief resume of the regiment's service in America is given. There are many excellent contemporary accounts of all these actions which present much more detail than can be given here.
- ⁸ Great Britain, Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain, London, 1904, I, p. 67.
 - 10 Ibid., p. 121.
- 11 Lowell, Edward J., The Hessians and the Other German Auxiliaries of Great Britain in the Revolutionary War, New York, 1884, p. 300.
- 12 Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, Giving a Daily Narrative of His Military Service as an Officer of the Regiment of Royal Welch Fusiliers During the Years 1775-1781 in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New York, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, II, pp. 560-578 passim.

MILITARY DRESS

The Expedition of General Leclerc to San Domingo, 1801-1803

Plate No. 189

The Peace of Amiens having given him time to deal with minor annoyances, First Consul Bonaparte of the French Republic mounted a strong overseas expedition to reestablish French authority in its West Indies colonies. Most of these had been occupied by the English during the French revolution, and returned to France by the peace treaty. The island of San Domingo alone had escaped conquest, thanks to its vicious climate and the military skill of the negro general, Toussaint L'Overture, who had made himself its Governor General and absolute ruler.

Napoleon gave the command of this expedition to General Leclerc, husband of his favorite sister, the beautiful Pauline. A good part of the troops assigned Leclerc were those units which Bonaparte had left in Egypt in 1799 (and which did not seem to have forgotten his sudden departure from amongst them); for the rest, the expedition presented itself as a pleasure jaunt through enchanting surroundings. Former inhabitants of Santo Domingo warned the young general of the dangerous climate and the need for careful preparations, but to no avail.

Along with Generals Lecterc and Rochambeau, a resplendent staff, and Pauline's bevy of pretty women, the following regiments embarked on this joyous

a. Infantry "DE BATAILLE" (line infantry): 7th, 8th, 71st, 74th, 77th, 79th, 82d, 83d, 86th, 89th, 90th, 107th, and 110th.

b. Light infantry: 5th, 11th, 19th, and 30th.

c. The 113th INFANTRY DE BATAILLE, composed of Poles from the old Polish Legion; the 1st Piedmontese Legion; the 3d Swiss Demi-brigade; and several German battalions.

d. The 19th Chasseurs a Cheval; detachments of the 1st Huesars and the 10th and 19th Dragoons; several companies of Artillery and Engineers; and considerable material.

It was therefore an army of 34,000, including the sailors and a Spanish division destined for the eastern part of the island, which left French ports on 2 December 1801, under a grey and lowering sky. It departed to conquer an island defended by ten colonial demi-brigades of infantry and two colonial regiments of dragoons (all composed of colored troops), backed by only a small force of field artillery.

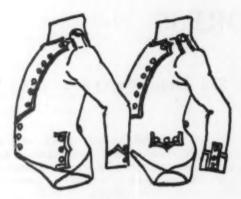
Space does not permit the story of this campaign to be told in full detail; it was poorly organized and equipped in spite of good advice, and it ended in disaster. The cost was exhorbitant: 11 generals, including Leclerc; 1,500 officers; 750 medical personnel; 12,500 soldiers; 8,000 sailors; and 2,000 civilian employees. Only 2,000 were killed in battle!

The uniforms worn during this campaign were those used in France. General Leclerc, certain of a rapid victory, had not provided any tropical clothing. At the beginning of the hot season, the soldiers abandoned their dimity waistcoats and retained nothing except their coats, worn frequently with white linen pantaloons. The expedition did not lack uniforms, for, in addition to the reserve clothing brought from France, the heavy mortality steadily refilled the storehouses. (Dessalines clothed his army from the warehouses after the defeat and departure of the French.) In many cases, the cocked hat (CHAPEAU) worn in France was abandoned for the hat of woven straw worn by the plantation slaves, resembling in shape the civilian hat of the period.

All the regiments wore the regulation coat of national blue, with red cuffs and collars, piped with white, and white turnbacks, piped with red; white trousers; and black or white gaiters. The grenadiers and carabiniers embarked with their bearskin "bonnets", but quickly gave up this heavy headgear as unsuited for the climate. As in Egypt, where many of the officers had served, they adopted the three-cornered hat of the center companies—distinguished by a red "carrot"—or else the straw hat. The drummers wore the coats of their regiments, with seven strips of tri-color braid on their sleeves; the same braid was used to trim their facings and turnbacks.

A new uniform was introduced towards the end of the campaign, resembling that worn in Egypt. The coat was a short jacket of dark blue linen, with red turnbacks and red braiding on the facings, cuffs, and shoulderstraps. The cocked hat was replaced by a high hat of civilian style. This uniform, which arrived too late for widespread use, is shown on the light infancry carabineer.

While General Leclerc wore the regulation uniform of a French general, Rochambeau fancied his own version of a hussar uniform--though he had never served as a cavalryman, having been a captain in the Regiment d'Auvergne, and later aide-de-camp to



Jacket 1802

Light Infantry Line Infantry

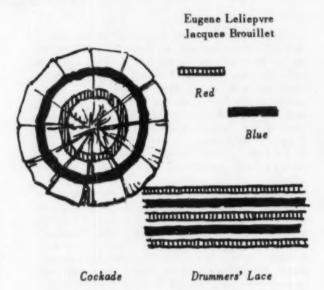
his father during the American Revolution. The uniform shown is based on a portrait in the possession of the Rochambeau family.

Hamilton Smith, who made many sketches while serving in the West Indies, is the source for the French grenadier officer shown here with the curious visorless shako; his blue coat has red cuffs and turnbacks, although its collar and facings are white.

The Italians of the 1st Piedmontese Legion were dressed in grey-blue coats with red facings and

braid. Their insignia was the same as that worn by French troops.

The foreign regiments disappeared completely during the course of these operations, their few survivors being absorbed by the French regiments, which themselves ended as prisoners of war in Jamaica.



The Cincinnati Rover Guards

Plate No. 190

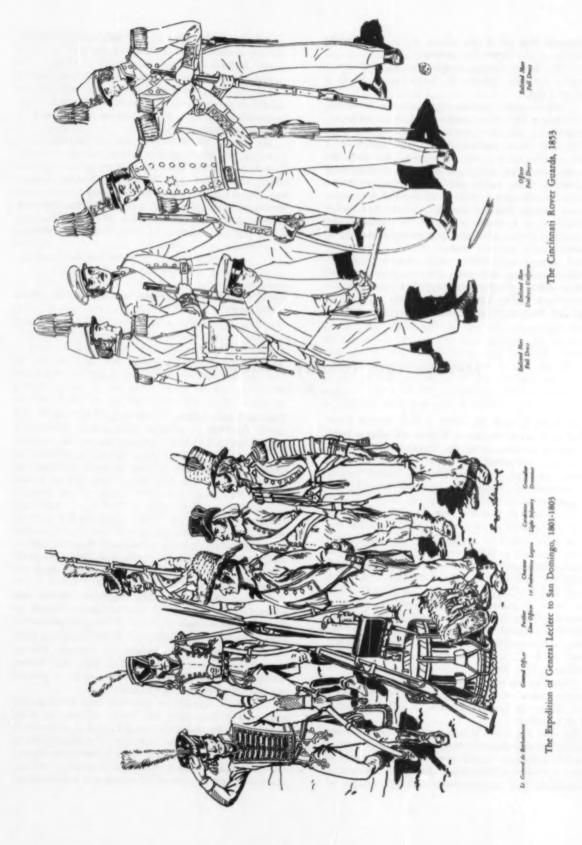
Ever so often, one of the hundreds of forgotten American militia units reappears when least expected—to use Long John Silver's expression— "Like the devil at prayers."

Some months ago, Company member John J. Demers was leafing through Volume IV (January to June 1853) of GLEASON'S PICTORIAL DRAWING ROOM COMPANION, a monumental and moral publication, wherein tough Kentucky frontiersmen were wont to address seductive half-breed daughters of nature with, "Fearnot, fair Inez". On the front page of the issue for Saturday, April 30, appeared an item for coarser appetites—a half-page "Representation of the Rover Guards, of Cincinnati, Ohio", complete with explanatory text.

The Rover Guards are ghosts, albeit gaudy ones. The Ohio Historical Society had little information beyond the fact of their existence; THE CINCINNATI INQUIRER could find no traces of it or of its officers in its files. A copy of THE MILITARY GAZETTE for 1 August 1859—secured from Frederick P. Todd's files—finally revealed a little of their basic history.

This, naturally, did not completely agree with Gleason's article.

According to THE MILITARY GAZETTE, the Rover Guard was assigned to the 3d Brigade, 1st Division, Ohio state troops. In 1848, the militia organization in and around Cincinnati consisted of the "Rover Regiment" composed of "Americans"; the "Cin-cinnati Independent First Regiment", of "Germans"; and a "Washington Battalion", classified as "Irish". According to Gleason, military spirit in Cincinnati dropped to something below zero shortly after the end of the Mexican War, and remained in that state until the Rover Guards organized themselves on 5 October 1852. They appear to have emerged in large part from a disbanded volunteer fire company, the "Independent Fire Engine and Hose Company', generally know as the 'Rover Fire Company' of Cincinnati, whose rolls for a quarter of a century had registered the names of many of the most influential citizens of the place.". Such associations between volunteer fire companies and militia units were common features of this period and later. The



six-pointed star which the officer wears is probably the badge of the former fire company.

"The Rover Guards paraded for the first time, under Captain Charles H. Sergeant, on 22 Feb-

ruary 1853.

The company has now eighty enrolled members, besides a full brass band of sixteen instruments, combining the best musical talent of the city. The full dress uniform of the corps and band is of scarlet cloth-coat, pantaloons, and cap, the coat turned up with light buff and trimmed with gold lace, the pants with a broad buff stripe on the outside seams, the cap of the U.S.A. regulation, except that the visor is of burnished lacker prefixed on an angle to protect the forehead, and is richly ornamented with gold embroidered bugle, star, eagle, and the initials 'G.R.C.;' the plume red, tipped with white. The cross-belts are of white webbing, with blue leathern body-belt, and blue patent leather cartridge box and bayonetscabbard. The breast-plate for the cross-belts is of burnished gilt, with a five-pointed star raised in silver, the chosen emblem of the corps. The body-belt has a lackered front plate, with the initials 'C.R.G.' in burnished metal. The undress or fatigue uniform is neat and substantial, consisting of dark blue jacket and cap, trimmed with red cord, and black pantaloons, with a full compliment of U.S. regulation equipments for drill or fatigue service. 1''

By 1859, THE MILITARY GAZETTE sadly noted

By 1859, THE MILITARY GAZETTE sadly noted that the Cincinnati militia effort had ebbed badly. The Rover Guard, consisting of only one company (then commanded by "Colonel" Charles Ernest) was the strongest and best of the local units, and famous for its hospitality to visiting militia organizations. According to the Ohio Historical Society, it became part of the 2d Ohio Volunteer Infantry.

Frederick T. Chapman John R. Elting

¹GLEASON'S Pictorial Drawing Room Companion, Volume IV January to June 1853.

Mexican 19th Infantry Battalion, in 1914

Plate No. 191

On April 21 and 22, 1914, a U.S. Marine force landed at Veracruz harbor in Mexico and after a brief but violent resistance by the Mexican garrison and volunteers, occupied the city. Considering that Mexico was then at peace with the United States, this unexpected landing for political reasons took the garrison completely by surprise.

The seizure of Veracruz was the climax to a long series of disputes between the United States and the Huerta administration in Mexico. The latter had shown increasing indifference to the security of American lives and property. A series of "incidents" culminated with the arrest and mistreatment of an officer and boat's crew from the USS Dolphin while they were engaged in loading ship's stores at Tampico. They were finally released, but Mexican authorities refused an apology. The situation was further complicated by a report that a German freighter, loaded with arms and ammunition, was bound for Veracruz. The initial objective was the seizure of the Veracruz customs house. Intense Mexican resistance made it necessary to occupy the whole city. American casualties were 15 killed in action and 56 wounded.1

The only organized Mexican military force in Veracruz was one undermanned company of the 19th regular Infantry Battalion, which was rapidly alerted and thrown against the U.S. troops already in possession of machine gun emplacements at both corners of

Emparan Street leading to the heart of the city.² The men of the 19th, however, were not alone. Cadets and and officers of the Naval Academy, reservists, civilian volunteers, and inmates of the federal prison at Ulus Castle, still dressed in their striped garments, as well as those of the army disciplinary prison known as the "Veracruz Galleys" joined in the defense and put up a lively fight to the end. The total number of defenders was approximately 650, of which 100 were army regulars, 100 civilian volunteers and naval cadets, and 450 prisoners. Their casualties were high, reaching nearly 30%, with 94 dead and 81 wounded officially identified and numerous dead and wounded unidentified and unrecorded.³

At that time, the regular Mexican infantry was dressed in the 1912 model army uniform confirmed by the dress regulations of 1913. Provincial garrisons, especially in the TIERRA CALIENTE tropical belt, complied with these regulations only loosely. Mexico was then in the midst of a civil war, and neither discipline nor supply service were such as to guarantee correct uniforms and equipment.

The 1913 regulations provided both officers and men with a dark blue full dress uniform, an olive green garrison and field uniform, and a white sail-cloth dress for the hot country. The blue garrison uniform for officers consisted in a dark blue flattop cap with black leather visor and chinstrap, a blue-black coat with a row of 7 buttons and four buttoned

pockets, black epaulet loops with gold cord edging, a black cloth patch with gilt battalion number on collar, and blue-black trousers with a wide stripe at the seams. Infantry service color was rose madder (GARANCE) and appeared on the piping around the crown of the cap and around the cuffs, on the cinch band of the cap, on the coilar, the cuff patches and the trouser stripes. All buttons and emblems were gilt for infantry officers. A tricolor cockade, green center, red border, appeared on the front of the crown. Rank was indicated by gold insignia, (for a captain, three vertical bars,) on the cap band and epaulet loops, and by gold lace under the piping around the cuffs. On duty, a black leather pistol holster was suspended from the left shoulder, and a saber was supported by a single chain from a yellow metal buckled black leather waistbelt. The sword knot was black leather with a small gold tassel.

The field uniform consisted of a cork helmet of the British colonial type covered with olive green canvas, the front visor lined green, ventilator on top and a brown patent leather chinstrap. The service emblem, in this case an upright bugle over two crossed rifles for infantry, painted green, appeared in front of the helmet, with the unit number above. On parade, the cork helmet was to have a yellow metal national eagle above the service emblem, and a metal spike at the top. These parade ornaments are not shown in the plate, as there is no evidence that they were ever issued or used. The coat was olive green with 5 paste buttons, 2 buttoned breast pockets, turnover collor and buttoned shoulderstraps; the trousers were plain olive green. Officers wore brown leather leggings, while the men wore canvas gaiters. Open leather sandals over bare feet were worn by the rank-and-file for fatigue duty or on long marches. A dark grey overcoat and a grey-black blanket with 2" wide black stripes at 8" from the edges were strapped down to the brown waterproof leather-edged canvas knapsack together with a dark brown tent cloth. The blanket could also be carried rolled up over the left shoulder. The leather furniture of dark brown cowhide comprised a cartridge belt with buckle, supported by two leather straps crossed on the back and carrying normally two leather cartridge boxes for 40 rounds, but adaptable to twelve boxes with 120 rounds; the bayonet frog was at the left. A tin canteen, nested with a cup and two plates, was suspended at the right side from a brown leather strap. Contemporary photographs, and the drawings in the regulations, do not coincide with this description of the leather harness and the cartridge boxes, but are more like the models shown in the plate. The standard firearm was the Mexican model of the 1898 German Mauser rifle and bayonet, with brown leather rifle sling. Under combat conditions, especially on the coast, the standard dress was either the cork helmet or an olive green cap combined with a white duck blouse, trousers and gaiters; the characteristic custom of the Mexican soldier to turn up his trousers and underpants to the middle of the calf was frequently evident.

The peculiar fringed chevrons, called golpes, on the bugler's sleeves are a distinctive device for all drummers and buglers in the Mexican army. They began to appear during the French occupation of Mexico, 1863-1867, and except for variations in color, remain in continuous use to this day. Rank insignia for 1914 noncoms were "garance" silk lace around the cuffs and on the shoulderstraps; three stripes for 1st Sgt., two for 2nd Sgt., one for Corporal, and one on the left sleeve only for buck private.

A Mexican infantry battalion of the period consisted of four companies of 134 men and 10 officers Three of the companies were riflemen (FU-SILEROS) and one was a machine gun company.5

J. Hefter

British Light Infantry, 1758-1759

Plate No. 192

"Our light infantry," wrote a British officer at Louisbourg in 1758, "Highlanders and Rangers, they termed 'the English Savages', perhaps in contra distinction to their own native Indians.

Canadians, etc, the true French Savages. These Light Infantry were a Corps of 550 Volunteers chosen as marksmen out of the most active resolute men in all the Battalions of Regulars, dressed

¹Editor's note by Lt. Col. J.R. Elting.

a) Knox, Dudley W.: A History of the United States Navy, New York, 1948

b) Pierce, Philip N.: The Compact History of the United

States Marine Corps, New York, 1960.

Personal notes of Col. M. Aranda Calderón, participant in the defense, partly published in El Legionario, Volume II, No. 14, Pages 33-43; Mexico, April 1952.

³Personal note by state congressman Eduardo Cortina of Veracruz, partly published in ibid and in El Nacional, Veracruz, Feb. 7th 1933.

⁴Reglamento de Uniformes para Generales, Iefes, Oficiales, Cadetes y Tropa del Ejército Nacional, Secretaria del Estado y de Guerra y Marina, Mexico, 1913 with 115 color plates; re-issued with errata corrections and 98 color plates in April 1914.

⁵Ley Orgánica del Ejército Nacional, Secretaria de Guerra y Marina, Depto. del Estado Mayor, Decreto 225; Mexico,

some in Blue, some in Green jackets and drawers for the easier brushing through the woods; with Ruffs of black bear's skin round their necks, the beard of their upper lips, some grown into whisk-ers, others not so, but all well smutted on that part; with little round hats like several of our seamen. Their arms were a Fusil, Cartouche Box of Balles and flints and a Powder Horn slung over their shoulders."1

Light troops were no new thing in the British service. Usually they had been German auxiliaries or mercenaries, often of the sticky-fingered Free Corps type. The original Highland units also had

been intended to discharge this mission.

In North America, there were no handy soldiers of fortune. The Colonial troops were-on the wholeno better adapted to woods fighting than the European regular. Rangers were few and expensive; competent Ranger officers were hard to come by. Consequently, British commanders turned to their own resources:

"the regiments that have been any time in America are to furnish such as have been most accustomed to the woods and are good marksmen and those from Europe are to furnish active marchers and men that are expert in firing ball and all in general must be alert spirited soldiers able to endure fatigue."2 These men were to exchange their muskets for the lighter ones of the artillery and the "ad-

ditional companies of Col. Fraser's Highlanders"; they would carry 70 rounds of ammunition, in contrast to the 50 issued the battalion companies. Their training was entrusted to Ranger officers and proved partisan leaders such as Major George Scott.

Such units swiftly proved their worth. A whole regiment-Gage's 80th Regiment of Light Armed Footwas added to the regular establishment in the New York sector, while additional provisional companies were formed in Nova Scotia. Their special uniformapparently worn by all light troops in North America after Amherst took command-is described as follows:

"The following order for the dress of the light infantry, as approved by his Excellency General Amherst: Major General Wolfe desires the same may be exactly conformed to by the light troops under his command: the sleeves of the coat to be put on the waistcoat, and, instead of coatsleeves, he has two wings like the grenadiers, but fuller; and a round slope reaching about halfway down his arm; which makes his coat no incumbrance to him, but can be slipt off with pleasure; he has no lace, but the lapels remain; besides the usual pockets, he has two, not quite so high as his breast, made of leather, for ball and flints; and a flap of red cloth on the inside, which secures the ball from rolling out, if he should fall. His knapsack is carried very high between his shoulders, and is fastened with a strap of web over his shoulder, as the Indians carry their pack.

His cartouch-box hangs under his arm on the left side, slung with a leathern strap; and his horn under the other arm on the right, hanging by a narrower web than that used for his knapsack, his canteen down his back, under his knapsack, and covered with cloth; he has a rough case for his tomahock, with a button; and it hangs in a leathern sling down his side, like a hanger, between his coat and waist-coat. No bayonet; his leggins have leather straps under his shoes, like spatterdashes; his hat is made into a cap, with a flap and a button, and with as much black cloth added as will come under his chin and keep him warm, when he lies down; it hooks in the front and is made like the old velvet caps in England."3 It should be noted that Wolfe re-issued the bayonet

to his own light infantry outside Quebec, and that there seems to have been a tendency to go back to the issue musket.

The light infantrymen here represent the beginnings of their arm. They were temporary companies, grouped into improvised little battalions, usually employed with the Rangers in "small war" operations on the armies' outskirts. Their real moment of glory came when, under Howe, they led the climb to the Plains of Abraham. Though most, if not all, of these first light infantry companies were reabsorbed into their parent regiments during the 1760's their value had been definitely established. In 1770, regimental light infantry companies became regulation; their uniforms reflected their American experience (the Indian leggings, designed for forest compaigning, were about the only article of equipment not retained.)

This plate shows one odd detail-green facings on the uniform of the light infantryman from the 47th Regiment. The 47th regulation facings were white, but their yearly issue of clothing had been gobbled up en route by a French privateer. Consequently, their colonel purchased the uniforms made up for Shirley's recently disbanded regiment. Net Bot-

wood's song tells the story:

"When the 47th Regiment is dashing ashore When bullets are whistling and cannons do roar, Says Montcalm, 'Those are Shirley's, I know their lapels.' 'You Lie', says Ned Botwood, 'We are of Lascelles!' 'Though our clothing is changed, yet we scorn a powder puff'The scalp may be a "recaptured" one-or one
from a French "white Indian", or Indian ally.

Eric I. Manders John R. Elting

Field, Cyril. Old Times Under Arms. London: William Nodge & Co., 1939.

²Lawson, Cecil C.P. A History of the Uniforms of the British Army, Volume II, page 46.

³Knox, John. Historical Journal, Volume I, pages 352-353.



COLLECTOR'S FIELD BOOK

84th HIGHLAND EMIGRANT REGIMENT (MUIA, PLATE No. 165)

Tentative reconstructions of the buildings and artifacts uncovered by archaeologists are an accepted feature of a study now several centuries old, but in the realm of military dress, the study of which is extremely young and about which very little is yet known, reconstructions must be ap-

proached with extreme caution.

Unless there is actual evidence of the dress of a regiment, such as the existence of a contemporary illustration or an actual uniform, it is pointless to try and reconstruct what may have been worn. Any reconstruction of the dress of the 25th Foot of the British Army in 1771, done before the discovery and publication of the six paintings at Haile Hall, which illustrate all ranks in different orders of dress at this period, would have been proved almost completely wrong. The fact that one regiment is known to have worn a uniform is no evidence that any other unit did so.

The recent plate of the 84th Highland Emigrant Regiment is a case in point. The reconstruction of the dress of the officer was based on the water color of an officer of the 42nd Regiment by Edward Daves, at one time in the collection of the Duke of York and now in the Scottish United Services Museum. Quite apart from the complete irre evance of the source which has nothing to do with the 84th Regiment, the plate is inaccurate in a number of points when regarded merely as a redrawing of the Dayes watercolor. The cut of the coat and the set of the collar are wrong. The coat is far too tightly cut about the arms in a style quite out of keeping with the period. The lapel is about two inches too long. The cape collar is shown in the water color standing well up to the neck, but sitting loosely in the plate. The artist has misunderstood the construction of the sporran. It is quite clear in the painting that the front part of the bag is spotted sealskin and is sewed into a rim of darker fur. In the plate the fur of the front continues right down to the lower edge. It is not, as stated in the text, "rather unusual." Considering the number of portraits of Highland officers still in existence it is quite common.

At least three other portraits show this type of

sporran: Hugh Montgomery, 12th Earl of Eglinton painted c. 1780, in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh; Lieutenant Colonel the Honorable Colin Lindsey, 73rd Regiment in Copeley's "Relief of Gibraltar" painted 1789-90, in the Tate Gallery, London; and Captain A. Mackenzie probably in the 73rd Regiment c. 1780, painter and present whereabouts unknown.

The dirk is also misunderstood. In the painting the dirk is a very fine example of the late 18th century weapon, in the plate it is of no recognizable type. Furthermore it lacks the suspension tab and the spoon fixed to the back of the sheath,

clearly indicated in the original.

The construction of the plaid is completely misunderstood. At this period the kilt and the plaid were in one piece and the sword could not possibly be worn through the plaid. The pland should be fuller on the right and hang loose on the left. No bunching should occur on the left side of the sporran. The water color clearly shows the correct method of wearing the Highland Dress and the sword.

The companion to the Dayes water color has recently been discovered and through the generosity of Colonel Ogilby they are now reunited in the Scottish United Services Museum. The second painting is of one of the other ranks, possibly a private of the battalion companies or, more probably, a non-commissioned officer. The fact that he is wearing white cross belts, first noted in the 1791 Inspection Returns, shows that he was painted after 1790. It is thus extremely likely that the officer was also painted at this time and is therefore ten or more years later than the period of THE COMPANY plate.

The privates in the plate are open to exactly the same criticism as the officer as far as the cut and style of the coats and the representation of swords and plaids are concerned. In the back view particularly the plaid is far too skimpy. The stiff formal hair style with the "sausage rolls" above the ears is a favorite among reconstructors. It is however very rarely depicted in contemporary illustrations of Highland Regiments in which the hair is almost always shown more informally dressed and very often unpowdered.

One of the few facts that we are told about this



Regiment is that the other ranks had half baskethilted swords.1

It would be very interesting to know the source for this reconstruction. Contemporary illustrations of privates of Highland Regiments at this time are almost unknown. Can we be certain that this type of sporran with a leather flap was worn as early as this? As far as I know the earliest firmly dateable illustration of a private wearing this type is on the Regimental Color of the 3rd Ross-shire Volunteers carried from 1803 to 1808. A similar sporran is shown on a portrait of Lieutenant Thomas Steuart in the uniform of the 77th Regiment (1777-83), but this painting has been so completely altered by a later restoration that it is quite valueless as evidence.

While we know that the barrel water bottle was used in the Hanoverian and in Continental armies was it in fact used in the British Army at this time?

Any examination of the dress of the 84th Regiment must be based on what is actually known about its uniform and not on the dress of a different Regiment at a different time, as has been done in this case. A number of half length portraits of Major John Small in the uniform of the regiment

exist. These all appear to derive from the miniature by William Wood which appeared in the Erskine Hewitt Collection Sale, Parke-Bennet. 18-22 October 1938 (No. 1002). The original drawing for this miniature is in a private collection in Scotland. The miniature was reproduced in News from Home, April 1950, p. 21, and is now at Fort Ticonderoga. It is quite clear from this painting that the 84th Regiment wore a pear-shaped epaulette with a blue background and not a straightsided plain gold lace one as is shown in the plate. This is the only reliable source of information for the dress of this regiment that is as yet known. Two other miniatures, both called Colonel Allan Maclean, exist, they are not in fact the same man and differ from each other and from the Small miniature as regards uniform.

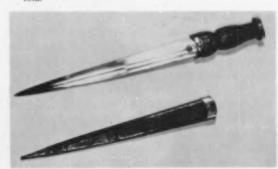
The Scottish United Services Museum has a silver mounted dirk which has engraved on the locket: "Capt. Angus McDonald/84 Regt." The only Highland Regiment ever to bear this number is the 84th Highland Emigrant Regiment. The dirk is of a rather earlier type than that illustrated in the Dayes watercolor.

A number of buttons have been excavated in America.2

The only information we have about the sporrans of the Regiment is that they were of racoon skin,³ but the shape is unknown.

A. V.B. Norman, B.A., F.S.A. (Scot) Assistant Curator, Scottish United Services Museum Edinburgh Castle

1 Ibid.



Major General A. Stewart, Sketches of the Characters, Manners and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland, etc., Edinburgh, 1825, II, p. 212.

² W. L. Calver and R. P. Bolton, History Written with Pick and Shovel, New York Historical Society, 1950, pp. 57, 113, 132-3, and illustrations.



WHAT CIVIL WAR TROOPS WORE THIS BRITISH GEAR?

The accompanying photograph of these formidable looking soldiers is reproduced from an unidentified tintype in the possession of the writer. It was obtained in the South, and although the men appear to be clad in "Yankee" dress, it should be remembered that quite a few Southern volunteer units were thusly outfitted in 1861. Blue frock coats and trousers, as depicted here, were not rarely seen among troops from Louisiana, Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia.

The outstanding feature of this photograph, regardless of its origin, is the British accoutrements together with the fine looking Enfield rifles. These arms were purchased by both sides, but to what extent were British accoutrements worn by Northern troops? These articles consist of the waist belt with the brass snake clasp, the cap pouch, the vertically suspended bayonet scabbard held in a separate frog, and the wide cartridge box suspended by a narrow shoulder belt. The cartridge box contained a single tin divided into five com-

partments, each of which was designed to hold a package of ten Enfield cartridges.

Are these early Southern volunteers dressed in blue, or are they Federal occupation soldiers, perhaps outfitted with spoils previously imported by the Confederacy? The button on the cap would seem to suggest the former probability.

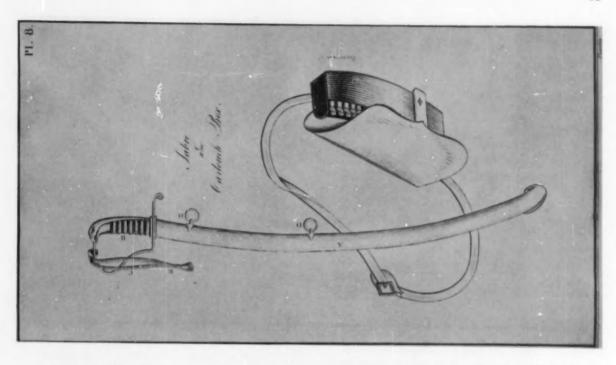
Donald P. Dow

PLATES FROM A SYSTEM OF TACTICS..., 1834

The copy of the book from which these plates were taken was once the property of Thomas Swords, 1st Lieutenant Regiment of Dragoons, 4 March 1833, and bears his signature.

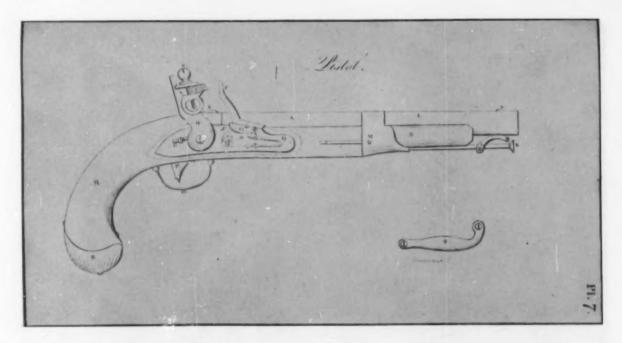
There are 88 plates of diagrams etc., including but two pictorial plates, which we have selected

^{&#}x27;The cap pouch is apparently of a type sometimes found stamped CS on the cover. Such a specimen is in the collection of Member Sydney C. Kerksis. An unmarked example is illustrated in William A. Albaugh III, "Cadet Gray to Butternut," The American Arms Collector, I, p. 9.



for reproduction along with the exceptionally fine title page engraved by B. Chambers. Plate 7 shows





the North flintlock pistol of 1819, and Plate 8 is entitled "Sabre and Cartouch Box." There are 250 pages of text.

Lieutenant Constantine M. Eakin was the compiler of the work for a Board of Officers composed of Scott, Cadwalader, Sumner, Daniel, Eustis, Taylor, Cutler, and Nourse; 11 December 1826, under orders of Secretary of War 5 October 1826.

Ray Riling

"A Portrait of Captain Swords U.S. Dragoons 1838 to 1846," MC&H, VIII, pp. 51-52, gives a portrait and biographical sketch of the former owner of the book.

COLONEL HAWKINS' PLUME

The somewhat operetta-like plume in this little known picture adorns the cap of Colonel Rush C. Hawkins, commander of the 9th New York Volunteer Regiment during the Civil War. We have no definite information as to when this photograph was taken, but it must have been soon after the designation of the New York Zowaves as a numbered regiment of volunteers. This plumage is quite properly not shown in Plate 121 of the MUIA Series for it would definitely have been laid aside in anticipation of the desperate combat depicted by the artist.

Marvin H. Pakula



GAZETTE

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM FIREARMS EXHIBIT

An outstanding firearms exhibition is being planned by the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut, for the period 3 November 1961 to 14 January 1962. Approximately 225 of the finest and most important Colt percussion firearms on loan from distinguished European and American public and private collections will be exhibited. The specimens will be limited to Colt percussion revolving handguns and long arms dating from about 1836 to 1873. Among the firearms the Atheneum plans to show are specimens once owned by Generals Robert E. Lee, Wade Hampton, Joseph E. Johnston, George A. Custer, Philip Sheridan, and George E. McClellan; Presidents Franklin Pierce and Abraham Lincoln: Napoleon III, the Earl of Cardigan, and Kings Charles XV of Sweden and Frederick VII of Denmark.

A profusely illustrated catalogue, documenting the exhibition, will be published under the sponsorship of the American Society of Arms Collectors. It will include detailed descriptions of the arms and accessories exhibited.

NEW EDITORIAL APPOINTMENT

Acting upon the recommendation of the Associate Editors for the journal, the Editor-in-Chief is pleased to announce the appointment of Ursula Harding as an Assistant Editor of the MC&H.

CARE OF MUIA PRINTS

We must caution our subscribers to the MUIA plate series that certain precautions should be taken to minimize fading. For permanent exhibition this could be both difficult and expensive, and we are in no position to recommend the professional help needed.

Since long exposure to light will undoubtedly cause fading of water colors it is suggested that your framed plates be hung insofar as possible out of direct daylight, and that your prints be rotated at least every year. Unfortunately, certain blues and reds seem most vulnerable.

KEEPING TRADITION ALIVE

FIRST MANASSAS RE-ENACTMENT

The Centennial re-enactment of the battle of First Manassas was sponsored by the First Manassas Corporation, and competently staged with the co-operation of so many diverse organizations that a list of credits will not be attempted here.

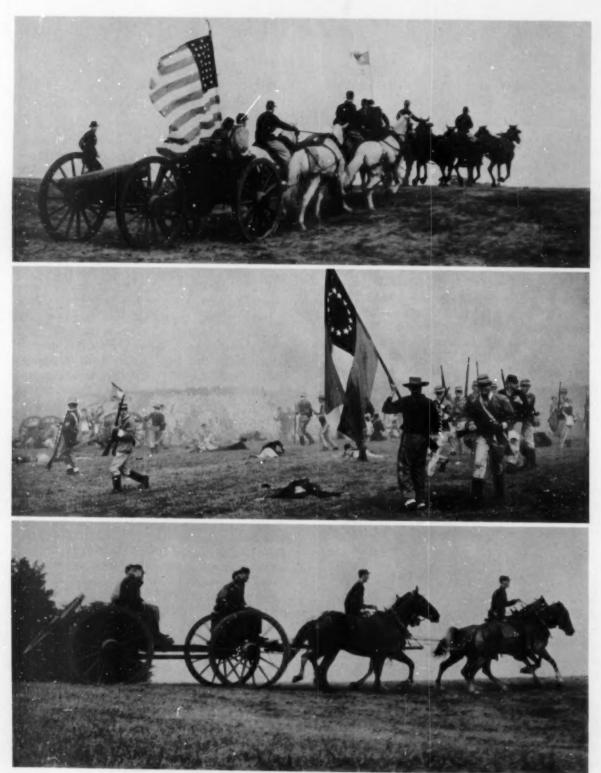
From a vantage point on Henry House Hill, denied to most spectators, the scene was extraordinary as it provided long battle lines, much infantry volley firing, and a close-up view of the artillerymen serving their pieces. By Sunday afternoon, with a rather unfortunate Friday dress rehearsal and a slightly ragged Saturday performance behind them, the participants seemed to have gotten into the full spirit of the event, and learned when and where to be on the field.

As in the original conflict, the artillery particularly distinguished itself; undoubtedly because of the many days spent in training the horses, and the numerous weekends volunteers spent running through this phase of the battle.

The infantry, representing North and South, contained many colorful units that suggested the variety of military dress seen there on 21 July 1861. However, the uniforms in no way were reproductions of the diversified dress of each unit that appeared on the field a hundred years ago.

The North-South Skirmish Association furnished many available uniformed units, armed, and equipped in the manner of Civil War soldiers; something that could scarcely have been achieved without the Association. This organization established safety rules for the re-enactment, and provided leadership in the field. Similar, but unorganized, groups were also present, some of which were provided with authentic weapons loaned to them by "buffs" and collectors. These numbers were bolstered by National Guardsmen, rather sketchily uniformed, and firin planks in modern weapons. The result was about 2500 men, an estimated fourth of those whose actions were simulated.

Since the National Guard was not available for rehearsal, it is remarkable that such diverse groups, drawn together from considerable distances, and



All photography by Milton A. Ford



subjected to a minimum of instruction by a hastily formed "Officer Corps," could produce a spectacle according to the provided script.

Although many COMPANY members were among the participants, some of whom were field grade "officers," Ernest W. Peterkin and John L. Rawls deserve special mention for their leadership in organizing and handling the major infantry and artillery phases of the event.

Two easily detected faults should be mentioned. The opposing sides were too definitely grouped into blue and gray: for the tragic confusion of uniforms is one of the sagas of the 1861 battle. Also, the few casualties in face of a considerable display of firepower seemed a bit astonishing.

The weather with heat and broiling sun did its best to provide authentic atmosphere.

Robert L. Miller

PUBLICATIONS

The History of the United States Flag from the Revolution to the Present, Including a Guide to its Use and Display, by Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Weig, and Roy E. Appleman, New York: Harper & Brothers, in co-operation with the Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1961. 182 pages. 59 illustrations in color, 4 in black-and-white. \$4.95.

I believe it was Machiavelli who said that no enterprise was more difficult or more uncertain of success than an attempt to change the existing order of things. We can be assured that this rule applies with full force to the subject of the book being reviewed—to any serious attempt to describe the origin of the American flag.

The flag myths live on and on, and Betsy Ross continues as sturdy a legend as the Minuteman. Both are symbols, of course, and, as symbols, are far more fascinating and useful to us than the prosaic flesh-and-blood people they really were. To deny their mythical existence, to offer any explanation of their conduct less dramatic than

legend has assigned them—and, especially, to fail to fill the historical void so created—is almost to be un-American. It is almost like throwing mud on the Flag itself.

One of the most recent men to try tilting with the dragons of flag legend was Frank Earle Schermerhorn of the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution. He was clearly sceptical about many of the flags and flag episodes he described but he could rarely bring himself to express this scepticism openly. Even Admiral Preble, back in 1917, doubted the Betsy Ross story, but he tells it in full detail nonetheless. The present authors, above all others who have written thus far about the American flag, have approached their task in a forthright manner. The Betsy Ross story, for example, is at last positively classified among the legends, where it belongs.

The book, furthermore, is written with skill and clarity, and reflects much painstaking study. The illustrations are largely in color, are plentiful and well selected. Several important ones are reproduced here for the first time. Add to these assets the

facts that the work is documented and indexed, is handy in size, attractively priced, and has useful sections on the display of and honor due the Flag, and its value as a work of reference for all levels of readers becomes amply apparent.

In addition to a full treatment of the development of the Stars and Stripes, the authors cover briefly the Great Seal of the United States and its use on flags and, much more sketchily, the flags of Texas, California and the Confederate States. Although of limited value to the student interested only in military colors, these sections give a perspective to the subject as a whole without taking away the full share of attention that is due today to the Stars and Stripes.

Frederick P. Todd

A History of the Uniforms of the British Army, Volume III, by Cecil C. P. Lawson, London, Norman Military Publications Limited, 1961, 264 pages, illustrated, \$7.00.

Collectors will welcome the publication of Com-PANY Fellow Cecil C. P. Lawson's latest volume on the study of British Army uniforms. Included in this work are chapters on the Body Guards, the Yeomen of the Guard, Infantry of the period 1760-1797, militia and volunteers of the same general period, the American Colonies, and the German mercenaries in the American Revolution. Mr. Lawson has ably supported his well-researched text with an informative commentary on contemporary military art and with many of his own distinctive drawings. Perhaps of greatest interest to the American reader is the chapter dealing with the American Colonies, which considers the equipment of the earliest Train Bands, then passes on to the more organized units that fought in the various French and Indian wars, and finally closes with a study of the uniforms worn by those hardfighting Provincial units that served alongside the British Army during the long years of the American Revolution.

Unfortunately the chapter dealing with the German mercenaries contains several errors that are readily apparent, such as contradictory information on uniforms in the charts and in the text, numerous misspelled unit designations, and the listing of a few units that did not serve in America. Although one can appreciate Mr. Lawson's efforts to cover the American Revolution, in this

instance it is felt that the chapter on the Germans should have been omitted.

Perhaps the severest criticism that can be leveled is the use of such a poor grade of paper, with high absorbency qualities, that the ink in many of the drawings tended to spread and thus create a fuzziness that detracts from the general appearance of this otherwise good publication.

The publisher of this volume has announced that Volumes I and II, long out of print, will soon be republished and should be ready by September 1961. It has also been announced that Volumes IV and V are in active preparation.

Albert W. Haarmann

Students of the Civil War have long considered the Bibliography of State Participation one of the most valuable research tools ever published for their work. For years this magnificent reference has been out of print, and used copies have fetched handsome prices. Now COMPANY Fellow C. E. Dornbusch has turned his great bibliographic talents to a work that will gladden their hearts—a revised and enlarged version of this ancient work. When finished, it will consist of seven parts covering most of the states in the Union except for the Border States and the Far West. A total of 2,202 batteries and regiments will be listed with their service dates and a detailed list of all located books, articles, published sermons, memorials, and broadsides that can be associated with each. These include a huge number of personal narratives by soldiers. At the end there will be an author index. Part One, covering Illinois troops, is already off the press, and the other six parts are expected before the end of the year. Copies may be obtained from the New York Public Library. Fifth Avenue at 42nd Street, New York City.

Also on the subject of the Civil War, COMPANY Fellow Edward J. Stackpole has added another volume to his growing series on the important campaigns of the Army of the Potomac. The latest addition is Sheridan in the Shenandoah (The Stackpole Company, \$5.95), and it is a worthy successor to They Met At Gettysburg, From Cedar Creek to Antietam, and Chancellorsville, Lee's Greatest Battle. The format is the same with frequent maps and illustrations, and the narrative,

as usual, is clear and accurate. Of special interest is the final chapter in which General Stackpole summarizes the campaign and gives his own interpretation of the events and individuals comprising it. Readers who have enjoyed the other books in the series will welcome this one as well.

Member Virgil Ney, Col. A.U.S. (ret.) has just produced a very interesting little book entitled Notes On Guerrilla War. The author, who served in the counter-guerrilla campaigns in South Korea, has intended this as a basic guide to the principles and practices of this type of activity illustrated by historical examples. After a lengthy discussion of the use of guerilla tactics during World War II in both Europe and the Far East and again during the Korean Conflict, there is a chapter projecting their probable uses under nuclear conditions as well as under other possible situations caused by chemical and biological warfare. There is an extensive bibliography, appendices, an index, as well as charts and photographs. The book itself is small in format, but its 185 pages are tightly printed. Copies may be obtained from Command Publications, Box 6303 Northwest Station, Washington, D. C. for \$3.00 each, postpaid.

Long a neglected conflict, the Spanish-American War has recently started to receive its share of attention. The most recent addition to the growing bookshelf of works on this "splendid little war" is A. C. M. Azoy, Charge! (Longmans, Green and Co., \$3.95). Like the main title, each chapter is named for a bugle call, and all add up to a delightful popular account of the principal action in Cuba, the advance from Siboney and the battle of San Juan Hill. Very little new information is provided, but military historians will find in this volume a pleasant evening's reading.

For those with an interest in European military history and who are fortunate enough to read German, the house of Helmut Gerhard Schulz has recently published the first of what promises to be a valuable series: Forschungen und Urkunden zur Heeresgeschichte ("Studies and Documents in Army History"). The initial monograph is a history of the fortifications and garrisons of Breslau, the Silesian city which was as militarily important

to the Russians in 1945 as it was to Frederick the Great two centuries earlier (*Breslau als Garnison und Festung 1241-1941 [1961]*).

Written by Dr. Günther Giraths in a style not too difficult for those of us who must rely on our college German, this compressed fifty-page book includes a beautifully reproduced map (18" x 24") of the fortress, drawn in 1806 and never before published. The second volume in the series, which should be available by now, will be a collection of rank and muster rolls for certain 18th century Saxon regiments, edited, annotated, and introduced by Hans Adolf Bleckwenn.

Helmut Gerhard Schulz Verlag has also published a number of other books on hand-weapons, uniforms, and military terminology. Their address is Hamburg 11. Germany.

The Smithsonian Institution has just published an unusual volume of interest to the military student: J. Lee Westrate, European Military Museums, a Survey of their Facilities, Programs, and Management (\$4.00). The author was research director for the President's Committee on the American Armed Forces Museum, and the book represents the report of an investigation made for that committee in 1958. He is currently on the White House staff.

The subtitle is somewhat misleading in that the work is a survey of only a small number of European military museums, specifically those which are national in character and devoted either entirely or primarily to military or naval subjects. There are seventeen of these, and all are in western Europe except for the Museum für Deutsche Geschichte in East Berlin. One section at the end comments briefly on a few additional museums with large arms collections. Oddly, the Scottish United Services Museum in Edinburgh Castle is omitted completely.

The material on each museum consists of a broad general description of the collections, the amount of floor space for exhibition and for storage, the facilities for visitors and attitude of the institution towards research and the answering of questions from specialists. Military specialists planning a visit to Europe will find it a useful companion to the basic Repertory of Arms Museums published by the Association of Museums of Arms and Military History which provides more condensed summaries of information on many more

museums. This volume also has photographs of some museum galleries which are most interesting and helpful while the *Repertory* is unillustrated.

On the debit side, it should be noted that the author's lack of specialized knowledge of museums and of military artifacts is reflected throughout. There is a tendency to accept each museum's own statement of its importance and achievements both in regard to the collections and the exhibits without critical comparisons with other institutions. Also it is quite apparent that the writer frequently did not understand what he saw.

The Missouri Archaeological Society has compiled a book for the guidance of archaeologists working sites of the contact period in which gun fragments or flints are apt to be found. It will also be of great interest to firearms students. T. M. Hamilton is the compiler, and the collection of essays has been given the title *Indian Trade Guns*. It may be purchased for \$3.00 from the Society, 15 Switzler Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

Many COMPANY members have contributed to the volume, including Carl Russell, Carlyle Smith, and Arthur Woodward, who wrote essays. Others have contributed indirectly. The quality of the essays varies, but some are exceptionally good. The material on gun flints and their dating is largely new, and a number of very interesting early locks are illustrated.

Students of European armor will welcome a new work by COMPANY Fellow Stephen V. Grancsay, entitled Catalogue of Armor, The John Woodman Higgins Armory. It is an exceptionally attractive book of 128 pages with excellent photographic illustrations on almost every page. There is also an index and a foreword by John Woodman Higgins himself. The armor covered ranges from early Greek helmets of bronze through a French carabinier cuirass of the last century. Each piece is carefully described and all restorations noted. Of especial interest in the descriptions are the listings of previous owners and bibliographies of other works in which the armor described or similar pieces have been discussed. Copies may be obtained direct from The John Woodman Higgins Armory, 100 Barber Avenue, Worcester, Massachusetts at a price of \$3.50 paper bound or \$5.00

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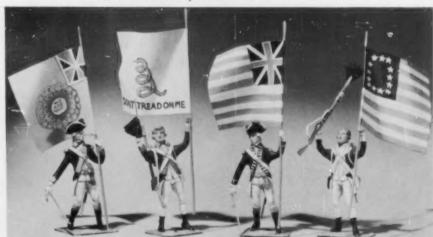
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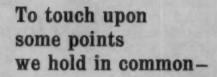
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In June 1961, we shall have available Volume 3 of C. C. P. Lawson's *History of the Uniforms of the British Army*. We shall also republish Volumes 1 and 2, now long out of print, of this invaluable military classic.



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